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## LITTLE SATANA'S WEDDING BREAKFAST

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A region described as 'wine-rich' and 'beautiful' by historians (1) is unlikely to have remained void of human settlement for very long in the evolution of mankind. What eventually became the Armenian canton of Golt'n to which these epithets were attached seems to be first mentioned under the name of *Guluta-ḫi* in an Urartian inscription possibly recording its incorporation, therefore as an existing cultural entity, into the kingdom of Urartu by Argishti I in the eighth century B.C. (2), though nothing more is said of it for about a millennium. The social concomitants of wine are proverbial. In historical times the region became known in the cultural field principally for the so-called *Songs of Golt'n*, metrical lays (3) sung to a string

(1) *Ginewēt*, Movsēs of Xoren, *History of Armenia*, I. 30, *gelec'ik*, Step'annos Orbelean, *History of Siunik'*, ch. 15; see L. Inčičean, *Storagrut'iwn hin Hayastaneayc'*, Venice, 1822, pp. 212-3.

(2) G. A. Melikashvili, *Urartskie klinoobraznyje nadpisi*, Moscow, 1960, inscr. 129b, and p. 427, locates KUR *Guluta-ḫi*, mainly on its association with KUR *Aništirga*, tentatively in the Ararat valley, north of the Araxes. It seems most probable that *Golt'n*, inexplicable in Armenian or Iranian terms, onomastically if not also precisely topographically reflects this Urartian name: *-ḫi* is a gentile suffix, while the *-n* stem of *Golt'n* (gen. dat. loc. *Golt'an*) possibly represents an alternative Urartian suffix of appurtenance in *-ini-*, a common formant in place-names.

(3) *T'ueleac' erg-k'*, MX,I,30, in which *t'ueli* must mean 'something counted, countable' (*t'uem* 'count', denominal verb from *t'iw* 'number'), i.e. 'metrical' (*metre* being that which can be measured); cf. NE *number* as in «these numbers will I tear, and write in prose» (Shakespeare, LLL IV.3), Hebrew *sāfar* 'count', *sippēr* 'recount, relate', Ethiopic *safara* 'measure'. The metre of the *Songs of Golt'n* is one of stress, natural to songs accompanied, as Moses expressly states, by a musical instrument, and hence constructed on the principle of beats to the bar, in which the number of

instrument (4) which comprise the earliest specimens of Armenian poetry, including some devoted to the Lady Sat'nik, the sole begetter of this paper. That these songs are mainly if not entirely Iranian in origin is in no way surprising. At the time when Movsēs of Xoren, probably in the eighth century A.D., drew upon them to enliven and supplete his prose narrative, the cultural revolution that accompanied the conversion to Christianity had long taken place, leading the Armenian imagination to wander and recreate itself among the legends of the Old Testament and the parables of the New. In Urartian times the inhabitants of the region must have been influenced by the literature and culture of Mesopotamia, echoes of which survive also in the *History of Movsēs of Xoren*. In between, however, the main cultural influence on Armenia was Iranian. The canton of Golt'n's situation in the southernmost part of the Armenian area immediately north of the Araxes made it particularly susceptible to such influence at the time of the Iranian ascendancy, and for long after the conversion. This was clearly recognized by Movsēs of Xoren, who sought to explain it by an historical shift of population, though the real reason is probably older and deeper: «The Armenian king

syllables is irrelevant. L. Gray's conclusion, in «Les mètres païens de l'Arménie», *REArm*, first series, VI (1926), p. 164, that «le système se calculait simplement sur le nombre des syllabes», although the verses he deals with comprise a number of syllables varying between 7, 8, 9, 13 and 15, is ill-founded. The *Songs of Golt'n* are not part of Classical Armenian poetry, influenced by the Syriac of Ephrem, etc., but relate most closely to the Armenian popular epic of *David of Sasun*, recited, like the Slavonic *byliny* and German epics like the *Nibelungenlied*, in verses bearing a more or less regular number of ictus or beats. Given the Iranian origin of the *Songs*, it is possible that the metre has been directly influenced by the type of metre used in, e.g., the Manichaean Parthian hymns, viz. «unrhymed, accentual verse which Henning has shown to be characteristic of early Iranian poetry» (M. Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn cycles in Parthian*, London, 1954, p. 45; with all due respect to a great master, one can see little cogency in Henning's view, quoted *ibid.*, that «the variation in the number of syllables is not a matter of indifference, but appears to have its limits fixed for each poem»: if a verse has, say, four beats, it is unlikely that it will contain 96 syllables, though any number between eight and twenty could be reckoned with, depending on the number, in musical terms, of hemi-demi-semi quavers, etc., for in such verse it is the number of beats that is essential, the number of syllables being accidental).

(4) One must beware of being misled by Bedrossian's unfounded explanation of *bambir'n* as «castanets, snappers», unlikely instruments for the accompaniment of heroic songs. The *bambir'n*, if indeed that, rather than \**bambu'rn*, is the nominative to be reconstructed from the genitive *bambir'an* and the instrumental *bambir'amb*

[Tigran the Great, first century B.C.], he writes, «settled Anoyš, chief wife of Aždahak, and her daughters, together with many prisoners-of-war, more than ten thousand in all, from the eastern shoulders of the great mountain [Ararat] down to the borders of Golt'n, ... (along) the banks of the river [Araxes] ... up to and opposite the fortress of Naxijewan, and the three hamlets of Xram and Juła [Julfa] and Xoša-kuins.... And he gave Anoyš servants from among those same Medes who dwelt at the foot of the mountain [Ararat]» (I.30). It is noteworthy that the region is still populated by Iranians who claim descent from the Medes, namely, the Kurds. In Christian times the pagan element remained very strong — Koriwn in the fifth century called the canton *ankarg* 'disordered' (5) — and a foreign aura has attached to the region down to our own day. The inhabitants of Agulis, whose traditional costume will be particularly relevant to the main subject of this article, spoke, and surviving refugees from the Turkish invasions of 1918 still speak, a form of Armenian so divergent from that of other Armenians as virtually to merit the status of another Armenic language rather than that of another dialect: viz. *zokerēn* (6). Arme-

that occur in Movšēs' text, must derive, like the forms *bandir̄n*, *bandēr̄n*, *p'andir̄n* mentioned by NBHL, from Greek *πανδούριον*, diminutive of *πανδοῦρα*, *φάνδουρος* or its probable Oriental original, the *bamb-* possibly due to contamination by *bamb* (from Iranian, cf. NP *bam* 'thickest string or base of a musical instrument', Steingass) and/or the name of another stringed instrument, Gk. lws. *βάριβιτος*, *βάριβιτον* NP *barbaṭ*, *barbuṭ*. It must be relevant that it is the Ossetic *faendyr*, Dig. *faendur*, an instrument of the same *pandura* origin with a varying number of strings (V.I. Abaev, *Istoriko-ētimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, t. I, Moscow, 1958, p. 448), that was used to accompany the Nart epic songs to which the *Songs of Golt'n* are related. A photograph of a Nart epic singer with a two-stringed *faendyr* is included in A. A. Petrosyan (ed.), *Skazanija o Nartax — ėpos narodov Kavkaza*, Moscow, 1969, p. 377. The word has undergone transformations in many other languages, e.g. Sp. *bandurria*, NE *banjo*, Fr. *mandore*, It. *mandola* and its diminutive *mandolina*. NP *tanbūr*, Bal. *dambiro*, Russ. *dom(b)ra*, Fr. *tambour*, *tambourin*, NE *tabor*, *tambourine*, are metathesized forms (as perhaps also Tk. *cūmbūs*, possibly via *\*dūmbūr*, merged with *cūmbūs* 'amusement' borrowed from NP *ḡumbiš* 'movement, agitation', there being no parallel for the name of an instrument being directly derived from such an abstract idea). For other secondary *-n* stems developed from the phonetic features of borrowed words, cf. *matuīn*, g. *matran* < *ματρίσιον*, HAG 363, *p'ur̄n*, g. *p'ran* ultimately from Lat. *furnus*, HAG 387, and the *-n*, g. *-an* of *Golt'n*, g. *Golt'an* itself from Urtatian *-ini* (see above, n. 2).

(5) See L. Inčičean, *Storagrut' iwn hin Hayastaneayc'*, Venice, 1822, pp. 212-216, for an account of the history of the conversion of the canton.

(6) See Sargis Sargseanc', *Agulec' woc' barbarə (zōkeri lezun)*, Moscow, 1883.

nians may be found who do not consider «zoks» to be Armenians at all, though on the other hand there are «zoks» proud enough of their age-old economic success to be indifferent as to what other branches of Armenians think of them.

Most of the extant fragments of the *Songs of Golt'n* were edited and translated in the pages of the first series of the *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* by Louis H. Gray in 1926 (7), while in 1929 Georges Dumézil, in his article in the same journal entitled «Le dit de la princesse Satenik» (8), investigated the Caucasian and Iranian background to the songs dealing with Sat'inik's marriage to Artašēs, adducing in particular close parallels between the Armenian versions and features of the Nart epic poems of the Ossetes, the modern descendants of the Alans, in which the Princess Satana figures prominently. One fragment of the *Songs of Golt'n* in her honour comprises one of the more abiding cruxes of Armenian philology, a group of five words which, omitted from Gray's article no doubt by the very reason of their unintelligibility, has been described by Dumézil as «une phrase malheureusement fort obscure, dont on n'ose rien tirer» (9). It is no doubt safer to heed this scholar's implied warning than his compatriot Danton's ringing exhortations to audacity. The earliest European scholars to fall victim to the phrase were, however, the first translators of the *History of Armenia* of Movsēs of Xoren, the Whiston

(7) Article *cit. supra*, n. 3.

(8) *REArm*, 9 (1929), pp. 41-53. One of the many interests of our late, much regretted friend Haġg Berbérian lay in the problems surrounding Sat'inik, and in 1950 he published an article in the Paris Armenian newspaper *Apakay* in which he drew attention to the existence of the incest theme — for the Ossetic Satana, whose *alter ego* Sat'inik shows such concern for her captured brother, was married to one brother whom she deceived with another — in Armenian folklore (see G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, Paris, 1968, I, pp. 567-8, where the tale recorded by Č'ituni in 1909 is reproduced in the original; re n. 2, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the so-called Kurdish saying unknown to the author and his informants does not occur either in the useful collection of Kurdish proverbs and adages compiled by O. and C. Celil, *Kurdskie posloviцы i pogovorki*, Moscow, 1972). *Sat'inik* is an Armenian diminutive form of the name occurring in Ossetic as *Satana* and Circassian as *Sataney*. Sir Harold Bailey informs me that he interprets the name as a feminine agent noun meaning something like 'female ruler, lady, princess' parallel to the Armenian loan from Iranian *satar*, a masculine form with a basic meaning such as 'helper' ('workman, labourer, weaver, help, helper, assistant, cause, author', Bedrossian).

(9) *REArm*, 9 (1929), p. 41.

Brothers, of Cambridge, in 1736. One can at least plead that it is, in part, *pietas* that impels us to take up the challenge anew.

In Book Two Chapter 50, Movsēs of Xoren describes the events of the battle between the Armenian king Artasēs and the Alans, how the Alan prince is captured and returned to his father in exchange for the hand of his sister. The historian quotes a song recited by the bards (*vipasank'*) concerning Artasēs's symbolic capture of Sat'inek with his gold-ringed red-leather lasso, which he interprets a little too rationalistically as referring to gifts of red lake and gold as a bride-price, and follows this with a couplet which 'they sing in legends concerning that wedding':

*Tel oski telayr i p'esayut'eann Artasisi,  
telayr margarit i harsnut'ean Sat'inkann.*

(ed. Tiflis, 1913, p. 179)

«A shower of gold fell when Artasēs became a bridegroom,  
Pearls fell in showers when Sat'inek became a bride».

It is reasonable to assume (10), despite the distance between the two sets of quotations in the *History of Armenia*, that the verses from the 'metrical songs' of Golt'n quoted by Movsēs in Book One Chapter 30 belong also to «the legends they sing concerning that wedding», namely,

*Ayl ew čaš (asen) gorceal Argawanay i patiw Artasisi  
ew xardawanak leal nmin i tačarin višapac'*

«And also (they say) a banquet was arranged by Argawan in  
honour of Artasēs,  
And treachery was done unto the same (Artasēs) in the temple  
of dragons»;

and

*Ayl ew tenč'ay (asen) Sat'inek tiki tenč'ans –  
Zartaxoyr xawart ew ztic' xawarci  
I barjič'n Argawanay.*

(ed. Tiflis, 1913, p. 84)

(10) Like for example K. Sasuni, *Grakan goharner*, Beirut, 1949, p. 387.

It is the second line of this latter passage which has proved so recalcitrant. Otherwise the lines may be rendered:

«But also (they say) the Lady Sat'īnik conceives a desire —  
*Zartaxoyr xawart and ztic' xawarci*  
 From the cushions of Argawan».

The last line shows that we are in the context of a banquet, presumably Sat'īnik's wedding breakfast. *Barj* is the native Armenian equivalent of Avestan *barəziš* 'bolster, cushion', and there is every indication that the Armeno-Iranian, and no doubt also the Alan, aristocracy feasted from a *gātu xwaini.starətu maṭ barəziša* 'a place with a beautiful (couch) cover with a bolster (or cushion)', as described in the young Avestan Vidēvdāt 14,14 (Bartholomae, 1865).

Provided that these passages do in fact belong together, the situation appears to be that Argawan, presumably king of the Alans and Sat'īnik's father, arranges a banquet for the Armenian king to celebrate his marriage to his daughter. What the act of treachery was is obscure, though Movsēs of Xoren does relate in Book Two Chapter 41 that Argam, whom he equates with Argawan, was suspected by Artawazd and other sons of Artasēs by Sat'īnik (cf. II.40) to have prepared an ambush for the Armenian king at a banquet in Goł't'n, which they thwarted, pulling out Argam's white beard, and eventually burning down his palace and abducting his concubine Mandu, before a temporary reconciliation (II.41). One is reminded also of the attempt, thwarted by the Ossetic Satana with the aid of the hero Batraz, by the Boratae family of Narts to kill Satana's brother and husband Uryzmaeg by ambushing him at a banquet in their House of the Oath (11), sending the invitation with 'one of their new daughters-in-law' which custom forbade him to refuse (12). The mention of 'the cushions of Argawan' seem to imply that it was at a banquet that

(11) Possibly the «temple of the dragons» in Movsēs' version. The historian clearly understands the phrase to refer, by allegory, to the descendants of Aždahak (Astyages), called *višapazunk'*, progeny of the dragon, «since Aždahak in our language means 'dragon' (*višap*)», I.30, introducing the Goł't'n fragment concerning the banquet.

(12) See G. Dumézil, *Le livre des héros*, Paris, 1965, pp. 189-192, and *REArm*, 9 (1929), p. 53 («sans doute le thème du 'festin guet-apens' devait-il être banal, international dans les vieux folklores caucasiens»).

the princess Sat'nik became possessed of a desire for *z-artaxoyr xawart* and *z-tic' xawarci*. Most commentators have declined the challenge presented by these words, the Mekhitharists' Italian translation being typical in rendering the phrase with more caution than confidence as «l'erba *ardacur* e l'erbolina *ditz*» (13). William and George Whiston were more adventurous, and to my mind came close to the true explanation of the phrase in suggesting a solution within the field of millinery by rendering it as «operculum planum tenebricosum» («the plain, dark coverlet»), though they omitted one element of the conundrum. They disarmingly admit to being somewhat baffled by their own rendering, remarking (p. 73, n. 7) that the phrase itself was even darker than they represented the princess's coverlet to be and left them groping about blindly in the dark («certe hic locus ipso Sathinicae operculo est magis tenebricosus, adeo ut nos plane caecutiamus»). In fact, three of the words in the phrase are not unknown at all. The key to the whole phrase is, however, the hapax legomenon *tic'*, and this, I suggest (14), may be explained as from I.E. *\*dē-sk-* or *\*dei-sk-*, cognate with Skr. *dy-ati* 'binds', *dā-man* 'band', Gk. *δέω*, *διά-δημα* 'diadem, fillet, turban', from a root *\*de(i)* (15) with the basic meaning of 'binding'. Phonological parallels are *lic'-k'* from *\*plē-sk-* 'filling', 'stuffing, anything used to fill up a vacancy' (Bedrossian); *kic'*, adj., 'united, joined', basically 'cramming together', from *\*g<sup>w</sup>ei* (whence Gk. *βλαω* 'force', O. Norse *koe* 'fold, pen', Pokorny, 467, 469); and *xic'*, from an unidentified root, 'stopper, plug', basically 'stopping up' (*xnum* 'cork, stop, bung, close' (Bedrossian)). The basic meaning of «binding» is clear in what must be a derivative of *tic'*, viz. *tc'ak* 'bag, basket', and probably also *trc'ak* 'bag, bundle of grasses, reeds, sticks and other things' (NBHL), *trc'ak-em* 'truss, tie in a bundle, to bottle (?), bind up in faggots' (Bedrossian), if these latter forms may be explained as from *\*tic'-r-ak-* with *-r-* metathesis (16).

(13) *Storia di Mose Corenese, ritoccata da N. Tommaseo*, 2nd ed., Venice, 1850, p. 83.

(14) The following explanation was first proposed in the course of a lecture on the *Songs of Gol'n* delivered by me to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1975.

(15) J. Pokorny, *Indog. Etym. Wb.*, Bern, 1959, p. 183.

(16) For an *-r-* nominal formant after *-c'*, cf. *kalc'r* 'hungry', beside *kalc'* 'hunger'. The form *tc'ak* is considered popular by NBHL and a deformation of *trc'ak*, but neither form is anciently attested, the examples of *trc'ak* given by NBHL being in no case earlier than the twelfth century. With the semantics of *tic'* from *\*de(i)* 'bind', cf., from *\*(s)kerb(h)* 'turn, twist, plait, weave', Lat. *scirpus* 'rush,



Anticipating the explanation of the other three nominal forms, the meaning, if not the syntax, of which is not too obscure, one could translate the objects of Sat'unik's desire as «the vegetable tiara and the bud diadem», in other words, «the tiara of verdure and the diadem of buds».

*Artaxoyr* is so obviously the base of the much more common diminutive *artaxurak* attested at Daniel 3,21 representing *τιάρα* (17) that one can only wonder why commentators refused to entertain this straightforward explanation of the word. *Artaxurak*'s equally obvious extended meaning of 'covering', representing *ἐπικάλυμμα* as a covering for a tent at Exodus 36,19 explains, however, the Whiston Brothers' rendering of the word as *operculum* 'coverlet'. It seems clear to me that the *artaxoyr* «tiara» and the *tic'* «diadem, fillet» go naturally together to form an archetypal kind of headdress, as in modern times a lady's bonnet is accompanied by a ribbon, or a gentleman's bowler by a band, vestigia of ribbons which once had the function of fastening the crown of the hat to the head. The simplest form of such an arrangement known to the present writer is Caucasian, the national headdress of the Svanetians, a felt cone with a double strand of thin black string about twelve inches long hanging loose at the back and ending in a small tassel, now purely decorative (Fig. 1, a-b). The two Armenian words under discussions (*artaxoyr* of Iranian origin, *HAG* 160) together describe, in their grandest usage, and one which in our context would well suit an Alan princess, the form of head-dress reported by Xenophon to be that of the Persian king Cyrus, the *ὀρθή τίαρα* «upright tiara» with a *διάδημα* (18), a symbol of royal power worn by Tigran the Great and adopted as such by Mark Antony after his triumph over Artawazd III, as may be seen from their coins. On a more modest level, such an arrangement was typical of ancient Scythians (19), and of modern Ossetes: «On the head they (Ossete

reed-grass' whence *scirpea* 'basket-work of rushes to form the body of a waggon' (whence, further, as loans, OHG *schërbe* 'bag', NHG *Schärpe* 'belt', NE *scarf*), M. Ir. *cruibhe* 'a tree-name', etc. (Pokorny, p. 948).

(17) Cit. *NBHL* s.v.

(18) *προσφαίνεται ὁ Κύρος ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀρθὴν ἔχων τὴν τιάραν ... ἔιχε δὲ καὶ διάδημα περὶ τῇ τιάρα* (*Cyri Inst.*, 8,3,13).

(19) «All the Scythian tribes dressed in very nearly the same way... The head-dress was either a cap-shaped piece of material kept on by a string that passed round the head or a pointed cap like that worn by the Phrygians... As with most Asiatic peoples, women's wear among the Scythians was almost identical with that

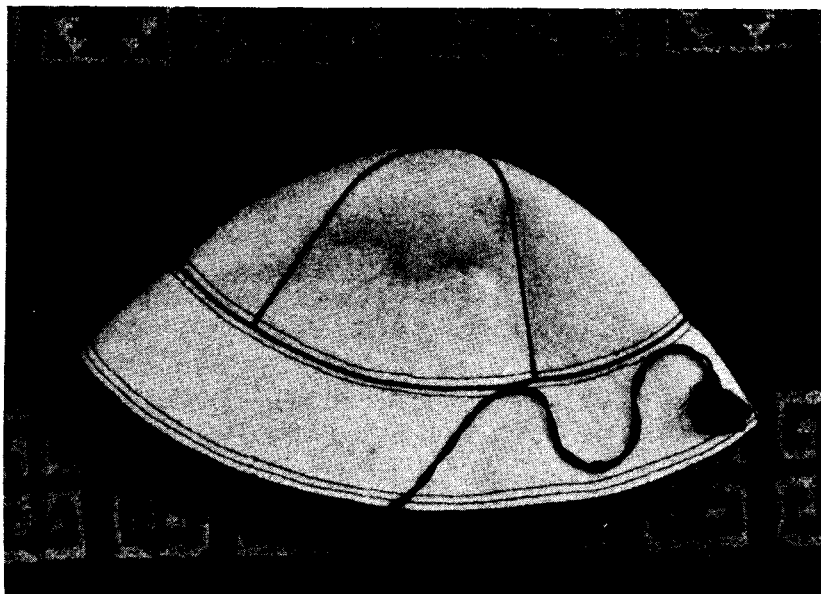
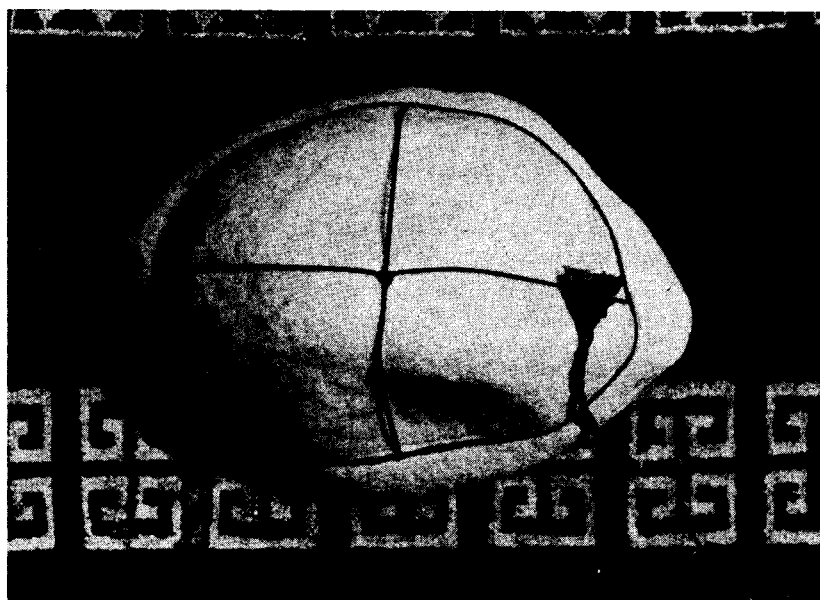


Fig. 1, a-b. Svanetian hat.



women) placed a round, low felt little cap, embroidered with gold thread. Over the top of the cap they threw a cloth of tulle or one woven from white silk thread, though they often restricted themselves to the cloth alone» (20).

The two-piece arrangement of the headdress is common for Armenian women of all regions (21). One that is of especial interest here, however, is the head-dress forming part of the national costume in very recent times of the women of Golt'n. The accompanying illustration, reproduced from S. Lisicyan's useful collection of folklore material (22), shows the high two-piece headdresses worn by the unmarried and married women of Golt'n (Ordubad, Upper Agulis) respectively (Figs. 2-3). How imposing a form this is in comparison with other Armenian women's headdresses may be seen from the photograph of the family group reproduced by Lisicyan on plate XCIV of Vol. II of her work, where a Golt'n style headdress is seen in the company of smaller headdresses worn by Tiflis Armenian women.

An interesting description of the same kind of headgear worn by a male is given by the nineteenth century Persian Armenian novelist Raffi in his account of the morning toilette of the fourth century Armenian princeling, Samuel Mamikonian: «After pomading his head, he (the valet Yusik) gathered his (master's) locks in thick bundles round the top of his head, and let the ends hang in loose curls over his ears and neck. These were contained by a hat (*xoyr*) worked

of the men», Carl Köhler and E. von Sichert, *Die Trachten der Völker in Bild und Schnitt*, Dresden, 1871, tr. by A. K. Dallas as *A History of Costume*, New York, 1963, pp. 81-2. At Noin Ula in Central Asia a pointed cap with ribbons attached was found in the Hiung-Nu nobles' graves dating from the Han period (third century B.C. — third century A.D.), described as an originally crimson silk hood reinforced with felt and stiffened with birch bark (cf. *nexae philyra coronae* «crowns tied with (chaplets of) lime-tree bark», Horace, *Odes* 1, 38,2), see K. Jettmar, *Art of the steppes*, London, 1967, p. 149, fig. 109. A photograph of this hat, described as «lined with silk covered with sable fur and equipped with streamers» is to be found in E. D. Phillips, *The Royal Hordes*, London, 1965, p. 118, fig. 135. A small pointed conical hat with apparently a band at the base and two long streamers is worn by what is described as a Finno-Scythic figure on a tombstone found in the Kama basin, dated 600-400 B.C., apud Phillips, *ibid.*, p. 50, fig. 24.

(20) M.O. Kosven et al., *Narody Kavkaza*, vol. I, Moscow, 1960, p. 322.

(21) See A. Patrik, *Haykakan taraz*, Erevan, 1967, pl. 66; S. Davt'yan, *Haykakan žanyak*, Erevan, 1966, figs. 2,3,4.

(22) *Starinnyje pljaski i teatral'nyje predstavlenija armjanskogo naroda*, vol. I, Erevan, 1958, plate IX; vol. II, Erevan, 1972.

in beautiful lace, and a silk head-band (*aparōš*) which he fixed to the hat» (23). There is little doubt that Raffi's *xoyr* (Ossetic *xodae*, *xūd*, etc., *HAG* 160) and *aparōš* (of Iranian origin, *HAG* 105) is basically identical with the *artaxoyr* and *tic'* arrangement referred to in Movsēs of Xoren: i.e., the tiara and diadem of Iranian antiquity.

Such a basic twofold arrangement lies behind traditional Arab headwear, e.g. the '*imāmah*', described by Dozy as «le turban dans son entier, c'est-à-dire, la calotte [*ṭarbūš*], ou les calottes [*ṭaqiyyah* and *ṭarbūš*], avec la pièce d'étoffe [*šāš*] roulée autour» (24).



FIG. 2. Unmarried woman of Golt'n.



FIG. 3. Married woman of Golt'n.

As a symbol of power, the diadem, in the form *varsakal* or 'hair-holder' (cf. Gk. *τριχόδεσμος*) is mentioned once, briefly, by P'awstos Biwzand (6, 8), and twice by Movsēs of Xoren in greater detail. In the first instance, in I, 13, (ed. Tiflis, 44), referring to the legendary times of the Armenian patriarchs, Ninos, king of Nineveh, is represented as giving Aram, king of Armenia, «permission to don a diadem of pearls (*varsakal acel margartē*), and to be called his viceroy (*erkrord* 'second')». In the second instance, in II, 7 (ed. Tiflis, 110), the

(23) *Samuēl*, ch. 4, Erevan, 1957, p. 34.

(24) R.P.A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms de vêtements chez les arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, pp. 305, 251, 235; cf. also *ṭarhaḥ*, *qalansuwah*, and (p. 367) NP *kulah*.

Arsacid Vałaršak (378-386) is represented, in reorganizing the kingdom of Armenia, as granting the eponymous ancestor of Movsēs' patrons, Bagarat, the right «to place the crown (*t'ag*) on the head of the king, and to be called *t'agadir* and knight (*aspet*) and to don (himself) the minor (*krtser*) diadem (composed of) three-rows of pearls without gold or jewels whenever he might circulate in the court and in the house of the king» (25). Kaempfer, in more modern times, described the Persian *tāj-i tūmār* 'pileus circumligatus' (26) (cf. *tūmār* 'an amulet-case of gold or silver which they suspend round the necks of children', Steingass) used as a symbol of promotion to noble rank, calling it *mitram Sophorum aulicam* (27). Such may have been the object of Sat'inik's desire: although she presumably already was of noble rank, it is possible that our difficult phrase refers to a yearning on her part for increased political power. The word *tāj* came to be used in Arabic to denote an item of female headdress, as in the *Thousand and One Nights*: «she wore a crown set with pearls and jewels» (28). E.W. Lane took this to refer to a golden ringlet, equivalent to the modern *qurş*, of which he made drawings (29). The Armenian loanword from Iranian *t'ag* was not used in this sense, the *t'ag kananc'n* of Esther 2, 17 (τὸ διάδημα τὸ γυναικεῖον) referring to a royal crown (Hebr. *kether-malkūth*), as at 1, 11 and 6, 8 in the Hebrew (rendered differently in the LXX and Armenian). *T'ag* is used as a symbol of marriage in the case of the groom, who is called *t'agawor* 'crown-bearing, king' and is *t'agaru* «crown-taking» — and it is significant that an Armenian epithalamium represents this *t'agawor* as wearing a two-piece headdress composed of a *fas* ('fez, tarboush') and *xəz* ('silk', i.e. silk diadem or *šāš*) (30) — though no text calls the bride *t'aguhi*

(25) *NBHL*, II, p. 798a, lists also later and less informative attestations in the Armenian Philo, John Catholicos and Grigor Magistros. *Varsakal* has, contra *NBHL* *ibid.*, nothing to do with Gk. σφήκωμα, the crest-fastener on a helmet.

(26) Cf. *tūmār* 'an amulet-case of gold or silver which they suspend round the necks of children', Steingass.

(27) Cit. Dozy, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103. Cf. NP *zarrin-kulahān* ('golden caps), certain officers about the king of Persia's household that wear golden tiaras, chamberlains', Steingass.

(28) Tr. E.W. Lane, London, 1851, Vol. I, pp. 340-1.

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 424, n. 29; *idem*, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, reprinted from the third edition, London, 1846, vol. I, p. 70, vol. 3, appendix A, pp. 212-3.

(30) L. M. Alishan, *Armenian Popular Songs*, Venice, 1852, p. 44.

'queen'. The verses under discussion show, however, that the Armenian loanword from Iranian *artaxoyr* can, we maintain, like Ar. NP *tāḡ*, refer to female headwear. The idea of the bridegroom as king and the use of the verb *psakem* lit. «to crown» in the sense of 'to marry' suggest that originally, as today in Greek and Russian Orthodox ceremonies, a crown or a pair of crowns was held over Armenian couples' heads during the service. A cross is now held by the sponsor over the couple, and the place of the crowns, significantly perhaps in the present context, is taken by a diadem consisting of three twisted strings tied round the head of each partner. An interesting description of an Armenian marriage in Tiflis in the 1840's was made by the German poet Friedrich von Bodenstedt (31).

What, then, of *xawart* and *xawarci*? Both are well-attested in ancient Armenian: *xawart* 'greens, pot-herbs, vegetables, garden-stuff, salad'; *xawarci* 'shoot, bud, sprout, tendril' are meanings given by Bedrossian. *Xawarcil* 'rhubarb plant; tendrils of the vine' (Bedrossian) (32), may be connected with the latter word, though its formation may be due to popular etymology, since it appears to mean 'dark shoot' (*xawar* 'dark', *cil* 'bud, shoot, sprout'); the same idea must be behind the Whiston Brothers' *tenebricosum*. It is possible, even retaining the meanings hopefully established for *artaxoyr* and *tic*, to take them, as do the Mekhitharists, as the name of plants. With *artaxoyr* 'crown' one may compare NE *crown marigold* and *bridal wreath*; with *tic* 'diadem, ribbon', *ribbon grass*, *ribbon fern*, and more generally *slip* 'a long and relatively narrow piece or strip of some material' and by transference 'a twig, sprig or small shoot taken from a plant, tree, etc., for the purpose of grafting or planting' (NED). A parallel semantic development especially pertinent is afforded by the genus of plants called *spiraeae*, so named because the blossoms are arranged in twisted strands (σπειρα 'anything twisted or wound, a padded circle used by women carrying weights upon their head, a mode of dressing the hair', σπείραμα 'coil, twisted thread, rolled bandage', σπείρον «piece of cloth, a wrapping cloth»). The connexion

(31) *Das Morgenland*, tr. R. Waddington, *The Morning-Land or a Thousand and One Days in the East*, second series, vol. II, London, 1853, pp. 34, 39, 40.

(32) K. Gabikéan, *Hay busaxarh*, Jerusalem, 1968, p. 83, gives the following meanings for *xawarcil*: 'rhubarb' (Muš, Sasun, Armenia in general); 'artichoke' (valley of the Halys, Ulač and other Cilician villages); 'fresh shoots of the vine' (in viticultural areas — *aygewēt teler*).

of one common species, *Spiraea ulmaria* (modern generally accepted synonym *Filipendula* ('hanging on threads') *ulmaria*) with weddings is indicated by its alternative name of bridewort, still used for decorative purposes in England (33). This plant is of particular interest to a discussion on the Nart heroine Satana and flora connected with her, since it is most probably the flower that the Circassians have named after her: «la spirée (*Filipendula*) espèce de plante de la famille des roses, à fleurs bissexuées, blanches, roses ou rouges, s'appelle en adyghé 'fleur Setenay', *Setenay qeyay*; les Chepsougs la momment *c'əš* et les Bjedoughs *xərk'əpan*» (34). This description by A.M. Gadgatl' is unfortunately not precise enough for one to decide for sure whether the flower referred to is the *spiraea ulmaria* (syn. *filipendula ulmaria*), the meadow-sweet, or another species, *filipendula vulgaris* (syn. *spiraea filipendula*), the dropwort. Both species grow in the Caucasus. The dropwort grows in steppe-land and on rocky slopes, and reaching only one to two feet in height (35), it seems a less worthy plant to bear

(33) «The leafy spiraea is much used for such decorations», *Daily News*, 17.7.1894, cit *NED*, s.v. *bridewort*; *R.C.A.* Prior clearly puts the cart before the horse in writing that the plant is so-called «from its resemblance to the white feathers worn by brides», *On the popular names of British plants*, 1863, cit. *NED*, *ibid.* References to floral coronets are legion in world literature. Sappho, who is reported (Pollux 6,107) to have worn a crown of celery, which had a sexual meaning to the Greeks, sings of maidens crowned with violets, hyacinths and bluebells, and advises one of her friends to wear the common herb dill:

«But you, O Dika, bedeck yourself with the lovely leaves  
Of shoots of dill strung together by your delicate hands;  
For fair-flowered things do the blessed Graces most observe  
But avert their gaze from those who wear no crown»

(Greek text ed. M. Treu, Munich, 1968, p. 66)

At Lesbos, no stranger to the Oriental world, she refers in one poem to the many-coloured diadem of Sardis (soon to be incorporated in the Persian Empire in 545) which a Greek maiden, perhaps like Sat'inik, longs for, despite her mother's advice that purple ribbons and garlands of flowers are the fairest adornment of young girls (text ed. Treu, pp. 79-81).

(34) A. M. Gadgatl', *The Heroic Epic of the Narts, Its Origin, in Circassia*, Krasnodar, 1967, (in Russian) p. 253, tr. and cit. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, I, p. 553, n. 1. Vicarious enquiries in Armenia by the present writer to discover the exact botanical name for Satana's flower led to an expert on the Latin names of the flowers of the Caucasus and to another on the popular names of the flowers of the Caucasus, but it was impossible to bring them together.

(35) *Flora SSSR*, vol. IX, pp. 301, 303-305; see also *Flora Iranica*, ed. K. H. Rechinger, *Rosaceae*, I, ed. Browicz et al., Graz, 1969, pp. 123-4, where it is

the name of a giant Nart princess than the meadow-sweet, which many peoples agree in calling Queen of the Meadows (Reine des Prés, Ar. *malakat al-murūdj*). The meadow-sweet has largish leaves, grows to a height of five feet, has scented, creamy-white flowers, inhabits all regions of the Caucasus, and grows «in grassy marshes, marshy and water-logged meadows, banks of rivers, lakes, streams and ditches damp woods and thickets, fringes of woods and forest clearings» (36). The meadow-sweet could thus hardly be more appropriate to Satana, daughter of Dzerassae the daughter of the Spirit of the Waters, Don-Bettyr — Satana who constantly haunts the banks of rivers, the scene of the conception of her son Soslan (and where, in the Armenian version, she first meets her husband Artasēs).

Circassian legends refer frequently to Sataney *g'oāš'a's* (Princess Sataney's) white skin and the dazzling white light she emitted, such that it made the light of sun and moon superfluous. The creamy-white blossoms of the meadow-sweet would be a fitting symbol for such a heroine, and almost a *sine-qua-non* at her wedding.

The symbolic use of flowers and buds is commonplace. 'Bulb and bud' (*kaftōr wa perah*) is a rabbinic metaphor for 'excellence and beauty', and images representing them in precious metals are used in the decoration of the tabernacle; specifically, the «shooting buds and blossoms» of the vine are used by the Jews to symbolise the Matriarchs and other revered persons (37). The sexual overtones of buds and shoots may be illustrated by a phrase occurring in the folklore of Satana's own people: «the woman became heavy (pregnant) by the human bud» (38). Furthermore, the idea that Sat'īnik was craving for specific drugs at her wedding (the expression *tenc'ay tenc'ans* 'desideravit desideria' 'strongly desired' is a forceful one) is not impossible. The bride of the *Song of Songs* was not loth to tempt her husband with the mandrake, listed by Theophrastus and Dioscorides as an aphrodisiac, to possess which Rachel surrendered Jacob to Leah. The *xawart* in our text subsumes the lettuce — *xawart* or *koč'i hazar*,

located in Anatolia, Caucasus, Talish, W. Persia, etc., and is said to inhabit meadowland in Europe (*habitat in Europae pascuis*).

(36) *Flora SSSR*, vol. X, p. 279; *Flora Iranica*, l.c., p. 123, located in Anatolia, Armenia, Caucasus, Talish, N. Persia, etc.

(37) A. Feldman, *The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis*, Cambridge UP, 1924, pp. 118, 134-6.

(38) Dig. Ossetic *ūs ūdgojmağy ævzaræj ærwæzzaw*, Abaev, *op. cit.*, I, 208.



*NBHL* — and although all the Greek and Roman authorities stress its anaphrodisiac qualities, the Ancient Egyptians regarded the lettuce as the symbol of Min, the god of fertility, and the favourite food of Seth, the god of evil.

It would not be to slander Sat'inik to impute such unladylike cravings to her. She is a shadowy figure in Armenian sources, and it may be that her marriage to Artasēs has given rise to romantic notions concerning her personality. But viewed against her Caucasian background, she is seen to be no better than she ought to be. In Ossetic and Circassian legend Satana's main characteristic, apart from her ageless beauty, is her possession of *zond*, which Dumézil interprets as 'intelligence, savoir magique' (39). There is much of the witch about her. She attempts to seduce Arak-Can by means of succulent apples (40). She can bake magic cakes. She is credited with having invented beer (with hops and malt), and a sort of ale (*aelūton*) made by boiling a sheep's carcass in this beer. Like all Nart wives, she is skilled in the preparation of the national Ossetic drink, *rong*, a potent mead, the *pièce de résistance* of all heroic banquets, but hers has magical properties. As the Ossetes put it, «Satana possessed the magic of heaven, and the sorcery of earth». In sexual matters Satana was extremely permissive. Adultery is nothing to her, nor, since Uryzmaeg her husband is also her brother, is incest. She displays her charms in the most explicit way possible to bend an enemy to her will. She wears a mini-skirt («in the way of the mountain women», says the legend). She disguises herself as a man, and contrives a homosexual encounter with her husband cum brother. It may be that some of these details derive from debased forms of the old legends, an illustration perhaps of D. Salakaya's view, with respect to a satirical song about another Nart heroine, Gunda, that «such parodies arise only when the epic begins to decline; the subjects of the epic are then deformed and can pass into comic genres, most often into folktales» (41). We must beware of romanticizing Sat'inik, and might take her as the Ossetes find her. The Mekhitharists' implication that she indulged

(39) *Mythe et épopée*, I, p. 561.

(40) G. Dumézil, *Légendes sur les Nartes*, Paris, 1930, p. 90.

(41) S. X. Salakaja, «*K voprosu ob evoljucii epičeskogo obraza*», apud A. A. Petrosian et al. (eds.), *Skazanija o Nartax — epos narodov Kavkaza*, Moscow, 1969, p. 408 (cit. also A. A. Anšba, *Voprosy poëtiki Abchazskogo nartskogo eposa*, Tbilisi, 1970, p. 83).

in drugs, one must admit, fits the — legendary — facts only too well. It must also be said, given the ambivalence of *barj* 'cushion, [fleshy part of leg] thigh' and the important role played by ambiguity in Oriental literature, that the troublesome phrase which forms the subject of this article is receptive of an erotic meaning.

The most serious objection, however, to the interpretation of *artaxoyr* and *tic* as plant-names is that nowhere in the voluminous botanical compendia in Armenian, including Amirdovlat's *Useless to the Ignorant*, are these words so attested. It is reasonable, therefore, as first suggested above, to take the words in their literal sense of 'crown' and 'diadem'. Taking *xawart* and *xawarci* as nouns in apposition to *artaxoyr* 'crown' and *tic* 'diadem', it is possible to render our difficult phrase as 'the vegetable crown (tiara) and the bud diadem', referring to a crown composed of leaves or flowers tied with a diadem of a string of buds. A close syntactic parallel to the *z-artaxoyr xawart* construction is to be found in an eleventh century letter by Grigor Magistros: *Bayc' z-hazar-d xawart, yunarēn asi maruln* «but with respect to the vegetable *hazar* 'lettuce' [as opposed to, he implies, the numerical *hazar* 'a thousand'], it is called in Greek *maruln* [μαρούλιον]» (42). Here *xawart* qualifies, specifies, *hazar*, which is ambiguous (as to a lesser extent *artaxoyr* may be, in that the word could refer to a crown or tiara made of metal or textiles). Two nouns occur in juxtaposition in another *Song of Goli'n*, namely that on the birth of Vahagn (43): *na hur her unēr*, lit. 'he had fire hair'. But here the second noun hardly qualifies the first, and the phrase is to be analysed differently (say, 'he had fire (for) hair').

Tiaras and diadems may be formed of flowers and buds. They are, however, in court circles more commonly made of textiles and

(42) Grigor Magistros, *T'it'er*, ed. Kostaneanc', Alexandropol, 1910, letter no. 39, pp. 95-6. This author explains the two meanings thus: «(We call) the *hazar* ('lettuce' thus) on account of its polyphyly and the fertile tiny particles under the leaf giving substance to the sprouting buds which are ranged close together within it, intertwining». Grigor boldly explains Gk. *μαρούλιον* (*maruln*) as meaning 'fit to eat in May to July', leaving us to wonder whether he knew the variant form *μαϊούλιον*; «Parthian *k'ayiu*», i.e. NP *kayū* 'lettuce', he explains as «bloating and inflating for the intestines» [read *p'oroteac'* for *p'oroteal*], thinking perhaps of Ar. NP *kaii* 'cauterising' (cf. Ar. *kawa'* *al-qalb* 'give heart-burn'), and illustrating the disadvantages of a Classical education comprising Plato's *Cratylus* and its methodology.

(43) Movsēs of Xoren, *History*, I, 31 (32), ed. Tiflis, 1913, p. 86.

gems, and it is not impossible that it was for these more usual symbols of wealth and power that Sat'nik yearned. *Xawart* is listed by Malxaseanc' as a modern Armenian *adjective* meaning 'hairy, downy, bushy', with *xawarci* mentioned as its synonym; the example *xawart boys* 'a *xawart* ('downy') plant' is given, though it is a pity, here as in general, that this otherwise excellent lexicographer does not give his sources. *Xawart* in this sense could not be dissociated from the noun *xaw*, i.e. 'nap on cloth, down on fruit or plants' (Bedrossian), cf. NP *xāv* 'pile of velvet, down, soft hair' (Steingass), and particularly Georgian *xaverd-i* 'velvet' beside *xavart'a* 'moss' (Meckelein; the connexion between the two concepts is clearly demonstrated by NE *velvet-moss*; cf. also *velvet-flower* and Grg. *xaverdovani qvavili* 'fleur velouté', Gvarjaladze). One might, therefore, render *artaxoyr xawart* as 'velvet crown', remembering that another Iranian princess in Armenian literature, Samuel Mamikonean's Persian mother Ormizduxt, is shown by Raffi to prefer to recline on velvet cushions (*t'awišēay barjer*) (44). One could not be sure, however, that true silk velvet, rightly dubbed by a recent writer as «of all fabrics ... the one most synonymous with luxury» (45), is indicated by *xawart*. The tenth-century Persian Geography *Ḥudūd al-'Alam* lists among the products of Barzand in Azerbaidjan — close, it may be noted, to Sat'nik's homeland — *qaṭīfa* textiles, which Minorsky renders as 'stuffs with a long pile'; in Turkish 'velvet' is one of the attested meanings of *katife*, but others are 'shaggy carpet, satin brocade' (Redhouse), the word deriving from Ar. *qaṭafa* 'pluck, gather (flowers, etc.)', the reference being to the manifold gathering of the weft (cf. NE *sammet*, NHG *Samt*, from Med. Gk. *ἑξάμυτος* 'six-threaded'). Ṭabarī (ninth-tenth century) speaks of trousers of *khazz* silk called *qaṭīfa*, however, which makes it possible that *xawart* could refer to true velvet (46). It is by formation, however, close to Ar. *mukhmal* 'a garment having

(44) Raffi, *Samuēl*, ch. 4, *Erkeri Žolovacū*, vol. VII, Erevan, 1963, p. 39.

(45) M. Kahlenberg, «A Mughal Personage Velvet», *The Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1973, p. 723. This article illustrates the problem of determining the provenance of individual velvet textiles dated even as late as the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries: «Many Oriental velvets have been attributed to Persia because the Persian tradition in this area is wider known and Persian velvets have been better preserved». This Iranian pre-eminence is, however, germane to our present discussion.

(46) R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles, Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut, 1972, 'The Armenian-Caspian group', chap. VI, p. 72, n. 102.

*khaml* ('nap') (Lane), mentioned by Ya'qūbi in 891-2 among the manufactures of Tinnis in Egypt.

If one followed Malxaseanc<sup>5</sup> and accepted *xawart* and *xawarci* as synonymous adjectives, one could render our difficult phrase, very naturally in the context, as 'the velvet crown and the plush ribbon'. *Xawarci*, however, may not be so easily disposed of as that. Its nominal meaning of 'bud' is well attested, as witness its position in the phrase describing the growth of the vine in St. Basil's Hexaemeron: *kołr, ew terewk<sup>6</sup>, xawarci, ew calik, ew olkoyz* «branch, and leaves, *xawarci*, and flower, and grape» (cit. *NBHL*, I.934b). A word meaning originally 'bud' may readily acquire a meaning in the sphere of personal adornment, as Lat. *gemma* 'bud, jewel', Fr. *bouton* 'bud, button'. *Tic<sup>7</sup> xawarci* might then indicate a jewelled diadem.

Armenian popular love-songs and epithalamia contain frequent references to dress. One recorded at Alashkert goes:

«Girl, tell us your name.  
Maid Nigyar, do not display your white bosom.  
The Baghdadi (scarf) round your neck is silk (*xas*).  
I am a young man, I cannot endure the pains you cause me».

Lisicyan comments that the silk scarf is tied round the neck of the bride on the first day of her wedding and remains there till the end, being worn at no other time (47). Clothes and jewels are, of course, among the traditional gifts of the groom to the bride:

«Water washes the sand hither.  
Come, beloved, come to our house, come to Moscow.  
You have donned your silken robe.  
I am a rich man, I shall circle your neck with gold.  
Your attire is of the finest.  
It suits your figure well» (48).

In the first series of the *REArm* A. Poidebard enumerated the principal items in the Armenian bride's trousseau (49), embroidered by herself,

(47) Lisicyan, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 520.

(48) *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 467.

(49) «Anciennes broderies arméniennes», *REArm*, 10 (1930), pp. 239-240.

in the preparation of which «la jeune ouvrière suivait instinctivement les traditions séculaires des générations précédentes», though since all the items, with the exception of the *gab* (*kap*) have Turkish names, one must hesitate to retroject the details of the custom too far back into the past. Two of the items he names are the *yastık* 'bolster' and the *yorgan* 'quilt'. A Turkish *türkü* demonstrates that these may not bring true married bliss, even when made of velvet:

*Kadifeli yastık, kadifeli yorgan yumuşak.  
Emmim oğlu koynuma girdi — bir uşak.  
Öpmesi yok, sevmesi yok — konuşak.  
Anne, beni niçin verdin çocuğa?  
Oynar, oynar, taş doldurur koynuna* (50).

«Velvet bolster and velvet quilt are soft.  
(But) it is my nephew, a mere boy, who has come to my bosom.  
He cannot kiss, he cannot love — nothing but conversation!  
Mother, why did you give me to a child?  
He plays about, and heaps his chest with marbles».

An anonymous Armenian philosopher would have been ready with an apt comment: «What advantage to the body is there in gold brocade?» (51). But nobody has imagined Sat'ınik, whatever else she may have been, to be a philosopher. She is, however, moved, in order to secure the release of her brother from Armenian captivity, to formulate

(50) Recorded on LP 33.106, Arşiv serisi 4, Melodi Plak Fabrikası, '23 Halk Türküsü'.

(51) *I yosket'el kerpasuc'n zinč' awgti marminn?*, cit. NBHL from an *Oskep'orik*. Although this is the more typical Armenian Christian sentiment, possibly deriving from the idea that clothes are a consequence of the Fall, the poet Grigor Narekac'i allowed himself to imagine heavenly chariots adorned with purple muslin (*behez'kiranik'*) and silken harness (*samotik'n aprişimi*), and the Virgin veiled in silks of the light from her soul (*kerpasiw' lusoy i hogwoyn parask'awlec'eal*, cit. NBHL); and according to Nersēs Lambronac'i the altar was to be adorned with brocades and fine linen (*zgest kerpasuc'...sndon ktawi*, cit. NBHL). The eleventh century Persian poet Minučihrī paid the Armenian weavers a compliment rarely paid by their compatriots when he wrote: «Nawrūz (the New Year) is the time of joy and happiness. The (rain) cloud clothes the plain with Armenian brocade» (cit. Serjeant, *loc. cit.*, chap. VI, p. 63). From the early centuries of Islam there are mentions of the excellence of Armenian textiles. Al-Djāhiz (d. 869), «who paid

rules of very high-level political deontology (52), which may or may not qualify as a branch of philosophy. The «Armenian» Sat'nik clearly belongs to a more noble tradition than her *alter ego* in recently recorded Ossetic Nart tales, and it seems unlikely that she would be deliberately represented in the early fragments in Xorenac'i's *History* as craving for drugs. Whether as a symbol of royal rank or married status, or both, and however splendid it had to be, made most probably from the same rich stuff as the Alan royal cushions and bejewelled, all Sat'nik wanted, when all is said and done, was what many a modern lady, preparing for an important event (an Easter Parade, a Coronation, a Horse-race, a Wedding) might wish for: a suitably impressive hat. Yet the ambiguities, the hints of amorous and herbal delights proper to Oriental wedding breakfasts (and Satana's would have been memorable) remain, surely more real than imaginary.

more attention to Armenia and the areas under its cultural influence, Tabaristan and Fars-Khuzistan, than to any other group» (Serjeant, chap. VI, p. 60), states that «the best and most expensive drapery is the crimson Armenian goat-hair kind with double woof» (*ibid.*). Mas'ūdi shows the wife of al-Mahdi (775-785) as possessing large Armenian carpets and cushions; Ṭabarī mentions an 'Arminiyyah, some kind of carpet, under the year A.D. 786; cushions of Armenian material are mentioned by al-Isfahānī for the reign of al-Rashīd (A.D. 786-809); the caliph al-'Amin (A.D. 809-819) possessed Armenian cushions, and large carpets in relief (*bisāṭ mahfūra*) formed part of Armenia's tribute to al-Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833) (Serjeant, chap. VI, 61). Whatever the state of the textile industry may have been in Sat'nik's own time, it was evidently thriving when Movsēs Xorenac'i recorded the Songs of Golt'n in, as most probably, the eighth century. It was not to do so for many centuries more, and R. B. Serjeant ventures the not implausible theory that «the destruction of Armenia by the Seljuks may have ended Armenian pre-eminence in this field» (*op. cit.*, p. 5). It is probable, however, that as in other fields, Armenian craftsmen thenceforth served Turkish Art.

(52) «It is not right (*awrēn*) for those of the race of gods to take the life of other members of the race of gods, or by enslaving them to keep them in servitude and to perpetuate everlasting enmity between two races of heroes», MX, II.50, ed. Tiflis, 1913, p. 178.